The New Way in Bhoodan

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# HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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## HINDI AND REORGANIZATION OF STATES

Continuing Gandhiji referred next to the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee, which had been sitting for the last two days. Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of re-constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel were both present in that day's meeting. The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally as soon as they came to power, as such redistribution would be conducive to the cultural advancement of the country. But such redistribution should not militate against the organic unity of India. Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption or that hereafter provinces could go the way they chose, independent of one another and of the Centre. If each province began to look upon itself as a separate, sovereign unit, India's independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well.

The charter of India's independence as conceived by the Congress was based on village autonomy. But all the villages were to derive vitality from the Centre, as the latter in its turn derived all power and authority from the former. It would be fatal if it led to narrow provincialism, mutual bickerings and rivalries — between Tamil and Andhra for instance, Bombay and Karnatak and so on. The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani was to be the lingua franca — *Rashtra Bhasha* — of India, but it could not take the place of the provincial tongues. It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces — much less English. Its function was to make them realize their organic relationship with India. The world outside did not know them as Gujaratis, Maharashtris, Tamilians etc., but only as Indians. We must, therefore, resolutely discourage all fissiparous tendencies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to this paramount consideration, a linguistic redistribution of provinces should give an impetus to education and trade.

(From *Delhi Diary*, pp. 378, 379, dated 25-1-'48).

## SYNTHESIS OF SERVICE AND EDUCATION *

(*By Vinoba*)

We have just heard speeches discussing two important questions of Nai Talim work. One of them was: Looking to the attitude of the Government as it is today how far can we help them or ourselves receive help from them? The other which was more important and fundamental was: What should be the exact relation between the other constructive work institutions and Nai Talim? It was alleged in this connection that workers belonging to these other institutions have not accepted Nai Talim. Supposing that the allegation is true, what we have to do is not to complain of it, but to mend things by making necessary changes. The dissociation of the Sarva Seva Sangh and Talimi Sangh, or to put it more precisely, of Sarva Seva (i.e. the various constructive activities for the service of the people included in the Gandhian constructive programme) and Nai Talim (or Basic Education) from each other looks as if the head and the trunk were dissociated from each other. It means that both these branches of our work have become devoid of life. In the absence of Nai Talim all the rest of our constructive activities are sure to grow stagnant and dead.

We have made some experiments in Nai Talim through the Government. I would not say that the time spent over these experiments was wasted. None the less it remains a fact that this precluded us from carrying out our own independent experiments. We want that all our experiments must be the experiments of Sarva Seva, that is, they must be carried out as a part of the whole of our constructive activities and as an integral whole. No activity can be allowed to stand isolated and independent from the rest, like the one sky which cannot be divided into separate compartments. In the same way the Nai Talim centres cannot keep aloof from the rest of the Sarva Seva activities. The entire pattern of Sarva Seva must be one whole and intact. All our centres, therefore, must be centres of such Sarva Seva — total service. Else our efforts will be wasted and come to naught.

* From a speech at a meeting of the Nai Talim Sangh workers at Sarvodayapuri (Bodh Gaya) on 14-4-'54.

As I look at it, the Nai Talim work is to me a Yoga of Knowledge. As such it ought to be present in the Sarva Seva, that is, in action that we undertake to serve the people. This view of Nai Talim is approved by all. The workers may not be practising it, but they agree that action must be accompanied by knowledge. It means that in whatever we may choose to do Nai Talim must always be there. Nai Talim workers also agree that their work too must go hand in hand with other activities. The point is all our work must be shot through and through with Nai Talim. When both the Sarva Seva workers and the Nai Talim workers agree about the inevitability of the two going together, it should then be clear that their separate existence portends danger.

Nai Talim is to me no less than a *darshan* i.e. a philosophy of life. Difference of opinion in Khadi, such as the question whether a particular machine should or should not be used, would not do us much harm. But inasmuch as the Nai Talim is, as I said, a *darshan*, difference of opinion in this field will lead to more serious consequences. It will give rise to different *darshans*, that is, different views of life. In that case the Nai Talim will develop an attitude marked by an emphasis on knowledge even though it may undertake Sarva Seva work and impart education through crafts and industries. On the other hand, the Sarva Seva, even though it may undertake Nai Talim work, will be dominated by an emphasis on action.

These men of knowledge primarily devoted to action will naturally be drawn to the poor, the oppressed, the landless; while the men of action primarily devoted to knowledge will find their work mostly among the educationists, the scholars, the planners. This bifurcation will split up the workers into two groups, one devoted to action and having to do with the dispossessed and exploited section of the society and the other devoted to knowledge and having to do with the thinkers, the intellectuals and so on. And as one can well visualize, this will lead to antagonism and conflict, which will be wholly useless. If however the two organizations drop their separate identity and become one, this will be avoided. Differences among individuals arising from natural aptitudes may and will remain, but there must be only one organization.

Let me illustrate: A Nai Talim Conference was held recently in Assam. Most of those who attended it were Government officers, other educationists, mostly such people as we call intellectuals. Here on the other hand the Sarva Seva Conferences are attended by people who are interested in work including the constructive workers, Socialists and even Communists. Thus there is evidently some difference in the outlook and direction even today. In course of time when the Sarva Seva Sangh starts Nai Talim of its own, this difference will grow. And then there will be conflict which might even spread to the fundamentals. It is therefore necessary for us to see whether our minds and our hearts are prepared to unite. If they are, let us forget our individual egos and unite in one organization. I have put before you the picture of what might happen in the absence of such union. It is now for you to decide.

Do not please misunderstand my insistence. I am not in any way obsessed with the idea of merger of all institutions in one organization. In fact, I am not interested in creating and building organizations at all. I have explained why I support the merger in this case. The need for this unification was being felt more insistently ever since Bhoodan was started. Our work is now growing wider and wider. We have now taken up Sampatti-dan. Then there is distribution of land which will bring in its wake many other items of work; for example, the organization of voluntary labour, collection of tools and implements for settling the allottees on the newly distributed lands, providing for their education and so on. In fact, that will mark the real beginning of our work. All that will need a large number of workers. But we are not training and turning out enough of them. This is because only a few of us are engaged in Nai Talim and the rest do not seem to attach much importance to it.

Shri Dhirendrabhai just warned us in his speech that, as in the attainment of Swaraj there was only a change of Government but no real revolution, even so in Bhoodan, if the same mistake was repeated here, we would not achieve our purpose. Mere distribution of five crore acres of land will not bring about a revolution. The warning is all right, but what is the way out? The way out lies in reorganizing the villages in which the land has been so distributed so as to create the Sarvodaya society. We will have to start centres of our work in all those villages and carry on all those constructive activities which we have been advocating as essential for the new society of our conception. The people will have to be educated into new values and new ways of life. This means that all those centres will be Nai Talim centres. It is clear that the Talimi Sangh cannot stand aloof occupied with its own programme of work. The Talimi Sangh and the Sarva Seva Sangh must come together into one organization so that all our workers may be Nai Talim workers, well capable of undertaking and accomplishing this tremendous task of reconstruction.

If, however, we are not able to do all this work, then the fear that in spite of the distribution of land on such a big scale the revolution will remain as elusive as ever will certainly prove true. In any case, both these organizations must unite. All our centres must be not only Sarva

Seva centres but also Nai Talim centres. There is another danger if such union is not brought about. The Government will then be faced with the question as to which of the two organizations — supposing that the Sarva Seva Sangh starts on its own scheme of Nai Talim — should be recognized as authoritative.

Thus the unification of these two Sanghas is very important and must be brought about without further loss of time. Thanks to Bhoodan, we are now faced with the prospect of limitless work. Either we do it unitedly or leave it to the people to do, in which case it may result in chaos.

(Abridged from Hindi)

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**" The Language Problem in Indian Education "**

This is the title of a small pamphlet issued by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay. It is a republication of an article by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, which first appeared in the Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, January, 1954. Coming as it did from the pen of a well-known philologist of Dr. Chatterji's eminence, I was naturally tempted to go through it. The article is more of a journalistic nature and has not that scholarly brilliance and impartiality that, for example, can be seen in Dr. Chatterjee's lectures on the subject " Indo-Aryan and Hindi ".

On p. 3 Dr. Chatterji makes the following observation :

> " Even after the division of the country, Mahatma Gandhi and a great many Congress leaders, with their usual spirit of accommodation and tolerance, wanted to make it easy for the Muslims, and therefore they accepted Urdu as the official language side by side with Hindi. There was the desire, on the part of Mahatma Gandhi and others, that *India's national language should have two forms* with two scripts. This led to a bitter opposition from most Hindu nationalists * within the Congress........" (Italics mine).

To ascribe the above italicized thing to Mahatma Gandhi is, to say the least, astounding. All know that Gandhiji rather stood for a happy synthesis of the two forms. It is difficult to imagine how Dr. Chatterji came to make such a statement and on what grounds. I refrain from discussing it further and rest content with saying that it will be blasphemous to allege such a thing against one who, all his life, worked for promoting and propagating one language which he named Hindi-Hindustani — " the language spoken, understood and used in their mutual affairs by Hindus, Muslims and all others in the villages and towns of Northern India and which is written in Persian and Nagari script and whose literary forms are known as Urdu and Hindi."

24-4-'54 M. P.

* In pre-Swaraj days we heard of ' Nationalist Muslims '. The use of this phrase reminds me of that here.

## ADVERSE EFFECT OF WAR ON INDUSTRY

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

A correspondent, reading my article on Vanaspati some time ago, puts a query whether there is any political motive or war need in view in allowing Vanaspati factories to function in the land. He adds :

> " Big industries, industrialization, Vanaspati etc., useful as they be in normal times, like telegraph, post, railway and aeroplanes, are also useful in modern warfare."

Maybe Vanaspati factories provide such a facility ; I do not know. But I endorse the view of the correspondent that in the ultimate analysis it is also the consideration of war needs that determines the policy of industrialism centralized by the use of the machine. If a factory which produces articles of daily necessity in peace time has also the added advantage of being easily transformed into an armament factory, Government would be naturally tempted to keep it running in peace time, by pushing its products into the market and would even lend its support to it.

A well-known instance in point is the chemical fertilizers in Europe. On the cessation of the first World War a question arose as to what the armament factories should do. They used to work by collecting nitrogen from the air. They went on doing it and used it in manufacturing artificial fertilizers. Thus the artificial fertilizers were introduced in agriculture not for its sake but with quite a different motive. It is therefore probable that if the Vanaspati factories can be helpful in some way in war time the Government may try to continue them in peace time too. And it may even attempt for introducing Vanaspati in the diet of the people and extend its patronage to its factories. This is just possible. But the question is, is it proper ?

If such a thing could be done without causing any harm to the people, there cannot be a justifiable objection to it. But if it is harmful to the life of the people, if it diverts it to a wrong track and ultimately brings rack and ruin to the people, it will not be proper to encourage it. The most valid objection raised against modern war is that it brings evils of this nature in the life of the people even when there is no war ! In peace time too economic and industrial problems are tackled with war needs in view. And efforts are made to prostitute scientific truth to show that a thing like Vanaspati is good and advantageous. If Vanaspati industry is vitiated by such war need, Government should, like its ordnance factories, itself run its factories and should not encourage it as a private enterprise. This holds true equally for Sindri fertilizer factory. If it is erected with the distant needs of war, it should not encourage artificial chemical fertilizer of doubtful value in agriculture, and Government should not bear the unnecessary expenditure for maintaining it.

13-4-'54

(From Gujarati)

HARIJAN

May 22 1954

## THE NEW WAY IN BHOODAN

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

We speak of Bhoodan as a revolutionary movement. We wish to base it on an awakened consciousness of the power that inheres in the people in a democracy. And we say that this *jana-shakti* is distinct from the *danda-shakti* or the power of the State. And in our zeal to emphasize the former and its primary importance as compared with the latter, we often say that the coercive power of the State is taboo in this movement, which is not wholly true.

I had referred to this aspect of the matter in my last article, 'The Message of the Bodh Gaya Conference' and had said that Shri Kripalani and Shri Vinoba drew pointed attention to this question which should be considered important from the point of view of the clarity of thought among the workers. I have now with me the report of their speeches, from which I reproduce the relevant portions below. Shri Kripalani had said:

"The Bhoodan movement starts with revolutionary ideas about property in land. Yet if it remains at that level, it will fail to accomplish even its limited purpose. The movement, if it is truly revolutionary, must expand itself to cover all major activities of life. If the landless get a few acres of land and there are a few toddy shops in their midst, their land will evaporate in a few years. If again in spite of land the cultivators were extravagant in their expenditure on birth, marriage, death, etc. and made themselves victims of the rapacious money-lenders, their land would soon disappear. If the village lacks some main and subsidiary industries to provide employment to increasing population, the holdings will be so sub-divided that ultimately they will be of little use to the peasants. Again if the villagers are divided by caste barriers and untouchability, the possession of a few acres of land will scarcely improve their lot. If the Government is bad and tyrannical, corrupt and inefficient, the mere possession of a few acres of land will solve no problems of the villager. If the administration is extravagant and the burden of taxation goes on increasing or if through wrong policies there is inflation, the villager will be ruined in spite of his five acres. In short, if the reformer wants the villager really to enjoy the fruits of his newly acquired land, he must not confine himself merely to the land problem but also tackle the allied social and political problems. If Bhoodan is to succeed it must work out the whole political, social and economic programme of Bapu.

"It is often said by Bhoodan workers that law can do nothing for the redistribution of land or for tackling any other political, social or economic problem. Every reform can be achieved through voluntary co-operative effort. Such statements, I am afraid, are partial and misleading. Society can neither dispense with the moral and social or the political reformer. All are necessary, only their efforts have to be co-ordinated. Plato said that a State's problems could be satisfactorily solved only when kings are philosophers and philosophers are kings. In Bihar, in ancient days, we had the rule of Raja Janaka. But it is never recorded that Raja Janaka ruled only by moral force and legal and political action was dispensed with. Bapu always held that if spirituality had any meaning it must manifest itself in all fields of human activity, including law and politics. He said even if politics were a poisonous snake he must grapple with it and not run away from it. Therefore, in our reforming zeal to neglect the political field is, I believe, fraught with danger. It can be done only temporarily. Educating the electorate was considered by Gandhiji as an item of constructive programme. If the Bhoodan movement is to be revolutionary in a comprehensive sense, it cannot limit its activity merely to the equitable distribution of land. It will have to extend its activities to cover the entire field of economic, social and political work. Only so can it succeed in its objective. Confining itself to its narrow sphere the movement will have no future.

"A revolution may begin with one department of life. But if it is to succeed it must ever extend the scope of its activities. Failure to widen the scope of the Bhoodan movement can only temporarily solve the land question. The Bhoodan leaders, if they are out for a revolutionary change in society, will ultimately have to tackle directly or indirectly the political problem. They will have to capture power or to see that power is in the hands of those who would use it for bringing about the revolutionary changes they contemplate." (From *Vigil*, May 1, 1954, p. 6)

Referring to this part of Shri Kripalani's speech Shri Vinoba in his concluding remarks at the close of the Conference said:

"I talk in a way which is different from that of Kripalaniji, who has a sense of urgency, a fire in his heart. It is necessary that there should be no fire in our intellects.

"Bhoodan Yajna is only a beginning. The administration has to be changed by this movement. There are people who think that we should take the reins of Government in our hands. But I say there is no such need. If the administration works according to our wish, that is sufficient. For example, Rajendra Babu told us that this movement has had some effect. We have begun to think about Khadi, village industries, Nai Talim, unemployment and under-employment. It is a result of Bhoodan Yajna. It is possible to keep control over administration while remaining out of it. This can be done with the help of people's power (*jana-shakti*). I think that instead of going to the Parliament if I do this work during all the 12 months, its results will not be less than what I will be able to achieve in Parliament. It is not necessary for Kripalaniji to take up Bhoodan Yajna. If he is able to stimulate his party men to take this work, it will have good effect on politics. Similarly Congressmen should also take up this work. This will change the politics into people's policy." (From *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, May 1, 1954, p. 6)

The reader will note that both the leaders agree that for Bhoodan to be an instrument of a new revolution in India, it must affect and cover in its sweep the whole life of society including its administration. Thus even Bhoodan becomes a political movement in the larger sense of the term. However, it appears that while Shri Kripalani would not mind making it a matter of power politics, Shri Vinoba wishes it to be broadbased as a no-party plank for an all-agreed reform. Surely, the latter is also politics of a sort,

which Gandhiji used to say as the politics of the constructive programme. Given intensive work and effective results in a field of any live item of needed reform in the social order, it is bound to assume political value and importance as well, for the simple reason that it will have the backing of the sanction of the people. A movement may forge such sanction either through the parliamentary way of capture of power by democratic vote or through the silent strength of selfless work and the self-reliance of the people achieved through constructive activities. The Bhoodan movement is aimed at organizing the latter way. It is, I think, this aspect of the movement that should now assume importance in the eyes of the workers. This is the new way in Bhoodan which the Gaya Conference has spotlighted as never before.

12-5-'54

## TEACHING OF HINDI IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

An educationalist from Delhi wrote to me about this subject. The following is reproduced from the correspondence that passed between us, in the hope that it will interest the readers.

M. P.

### I

In your article in the *Harijan* of the 10th April under the title "Regarding Medium of Instruction", you have recommended that in the non-Hindi speaking areas the teaching of Hindi should begin from the 5th standard of a child's education and that it should be made compulsory up to 4 years of college studies. Thus, you say, every college student will study Hindi *compulsorily* for 11 years.

As one interested in education, I am interested to know how this period of 11 years has been decided. Is it on political and cultural grounds or on educational grounds as well?

A *thorough* knowledge of Hindi on the part of students from the non-Hindi speaking areas is all that is needed and is all that can be demanded of them in national interests. They should be able to read, write and converse in Hindi fluently.

The Hindi that we have in mind here is, more or less, modern Hindi. (I say more or less advisedly because the final form of this official language of the Union is yet to be determined.) Moreover, the emphasis is on the learning of the language. Some amount of literature naturally comes in by the way. But will it be wrong to presume that neither old and mediaeval Hindi nor the whole of Hindi literature from Jayasi to Jayshankar Prasad is to be made the subject of compulsory study for all, excepting those who want to specialize?

If the above presumption is correct, then the question arises, is it necessary to study Hindi for eleven long years to attain the mastery of that language that we may compulsorily demand of every educated non-Hindi speaking person? One may be permitted to think that at most seven years of study would be enough for this purpose. These seven years may be put in wholly during the school stage or in the school and collegiate stages of education taken together.

May I suggest that we should clearly lay down the quantum of Hindi that every non-Hindi speaking Indian in future will be required to study. Let us then find out through well-conducted and scientifically planned experiments how much time will actually have to be devoted to give that much of Hindi to the learners. It may be seven years or more or less. The period may also be different in different regions. There is, it appears to me, educationally speaking, no justification in suggesting that the study of a particular subject should cover so many years when the amount of subject matter is not clearly defined and laid down.

14-4-'54

### II

Thanks for yours of 14-4-'54. The query is understandable. Of course, I have no laboratory material to go by in deciding the number of years for Hindi studies. Did we have so for English? If we take up the study of Hindi in schools and colleges, we do it as a second language of our equipment — almost as we have been doing in regard to English till now. English will be a third language, as I have said in my article of *Harijan* of 10-4-'54. Again the number of periods we shall allot for Hindi becomes relevant also. At present, for example, in Bombay, barely two periods per week are given to it.

You are right when you say that the Hindi of the Union has still to grow and develop into an efficient medium of expression of our great people. For such a consummation, you will admit, our studies should be equally wide and broad-based. Therefore it will not be wise nor educationally sound to screen out whatever helpful we may have in Hindi language or literature. Of course, modern Hindi both spoken and written will form a prominent part thereof. The most important thing to my mind is that compulsory Hindi studies should begin immediately in all our schools and colleges in non-Hindi areas. As it is a new subject schools and colleges both will be only in the initial stages. It will require a few years to have a complete graded course. Then, I think, we will be in a position to seriously go into questions of rationalizing our Hindi studies.

I do not know whether you have seen the Report of the Hindi Teaching Committee of Bombay State, of which I had the honour to be a member. It will give you some idea about how we here propose to organize Hindi studies in schools. In the conditions in which we are, it is necessary to follow it up in colleges also, so that the language equipment may be at least of the standard you suggest in your letter.

22-4-'54

### III

I thank you for your letter of the 22nd.

My approach was from the point of view of education. We have to define the scope of every subject that we teach. That scope determines the period, the number of hours and all other things. The period of study and the number of hours will depend on the amount of Hindi that we think every non-Hindi speaking person should know. It is, therefore, extremely necessary from the educational point of view to define the quantum of Hindi; and it is only a scientifically conducted experiment and no *a priori* judgment can decide that point.

### IV

I agree with the pedagogic point you restate in yours under reply. My only submission is that it will have to take its time. And we should also note that Hindi is to grow and develop, which requires us to begin the study in our schools and colleges and begin to gather laboratory material for a kind of inquiry you write about. There is also the larger question of the method of teaching Hindi in various non-Hindi areas. All this surely requires the patient and diligent attention of scientific workers like you in the field. I am hopeful that your able guidance will help this pioneering work in all ways.

28-4-'54

### V

I would like to submit that what you call as the "pedagogic point" should be the determining factor and

that no other point either political or sentimental should be allowed to outweigh it. If we allow other considerations to come in we shall commit the same mistake as was committed by the protagonists of English. Only this will be a different form. I would not yield to anyone in advocating the importance of Hindi as the official language of the Union, but I would not like it to suppress my mother-tongue. At one time, English was taught in schools for 12 periods while barely 5 or 6 periods were given to the study of the mother-tongue. I would like to see that Hindi is taught side by side with my mother-tongue, but the time devoted must not be disproportionate as it was in the case of English.

30-4-'54

VI

I catch your point regarding the study of Hindi and appreciate it. I only wish to add that it is no political or sentimental ground which prompts me to suggest that our study of Hindi should better be for 11 years to start with. My point of view should rather be called educational and nation-building. It arises from the great fact that we in India must have Hindi as the lingua franca or the common medium for inter-State and all-India purposes. When I say this I mean that, it will be our second language. I accept that the mother-tongue will only be the first language and accordingly must deserve our first attention.

I believe our immediate necessity for reconstructing Indian Education is: 1. To change over the medium of instruction of entire education from English to the regional languages. 2. To introduce the study of Hindi in the schools and colleges, chiefly in non-Hindi areas, and 3. To give a rural and craft bias to our approach to all education. If we do this we shall require all the help of specialists who would study and devise apt methods for achieving the above chief objects.

4-5-'54

## HANDLOOM YARN

(*By Maurice Frydman*)

As handspun yarn is a characteristic of Khadi cloth, so mill-made yarn is at present inevitable in handloom cloth. Although handloom weaving is our biggest, next to agriculture, village industry, its very existence is tied up with the spinning mills and with all they represent in centralization and exploitation, — the very social and economic structure against which village industries are battling. There is something incongruous and almost insane in a major village industry utterly depending for its very existence on a technological and economic set-up completely alien and inimical.

Khadi has also lately entered this vicious circle of dependence on factors working against it: The Government and the textile mills. They merely nurse it on subsidies, so that it never comes to stand by its own strength and vitality. As long as the handloom weavers and the village spinners depend for their very existence on factors beyond their control, their outlook is bleak and they will succumb to the merciless logic of technological efficiency and monopolistic economics. To survive they must first of all emancipate themselves completely from all centralized supply of yarn or money; on one side they must show their capacity to clothe the nation, on the other side they must be left free to do so.

It stands to reason that for the present the handloom cloth has a better chance to take over the market from the textile mills and supply cloth without hardship to the consumer. Given sufficient yarn, the handloom weaver can produce enough cloth for the country without raising its price, provided the price of yarn remains unchanged.

For the time being Khadi yarn is too costly and uneven to serve the needs of the handloom weaver. The only alternative to mill yarn is yarn produced on multi-spindle spinning frames of the Ekambarnath, Kale or Gupte type. They vary between 2 and 10 spindles and although they are not yet able to give yarn at mill price and at the same time to give a decent wage to their owner, they are a departure in the right direction as far as the handloom weaver is concerned.

It is easy to calculate that a spinning frame of 30-40 spindles will be required to supply the handloom weaver with yarn at current price, to pay for depreciation and maintenance and to give a living to the spinner.

At present the mill yarn costs about 8 annas above the cost of cotton. If the spinner has to earn Rs 2/- per day for himself and Rs 2/- for depreciation and maintenance, — Rs 4/- in all, he will have to produce daily 8 lbs. of yarn. Taking a rather coarse yarn, with 20 twists per inch, and weighing 20 hanks per lb. the total number of twists in 8 lbs. of yarn will be $8 \times 20 \times 840 \times 36 \times 20$ and the number of spindles turning at a speed of 6000 revolutions per minute in 8 hours per day and giving this much of yarn will be 34.

Of course a mill spindle turns at a much higher speed, beyond the capacity of a small spinning frame.

In addition to the work of spinning there will be also a carding and roving frame for preparing the cotton for the spinning frame.

Coming to the power requirements, it is clear that the power required for turning 34 spindles at 6000 revolutions per minute steadily for 8 hours along with carding and roving frames is too great a strain for a man and he will need some auxiliary source of power. Therefore, his yarn cannot be called handspun yarn, but it will still be decentralized, home-made, handloom yarn quite acceptable to the handloom weaver. It is therefore, suggested that a special category of yarn should be recognized, neither handspun nor mill yarn, but between the two: Power-spun, home-made handloom yarn.

Such yarn can stand the competition of the mills and yet need not be mixed up with Khadi yarn, which has its own place and significance. As a means for ousting the mills from the internal cloth market of the country handloom cloth and handloom yarn will be adequate. On the other hand, once the mills are no more, Khadi will have a chance to grow. Therefore a multi-spindle spinning frame, even when power-driven, is a step in the right direction and should be

encouraged by all who have the future of Khadi at heart. It will protect the hand spinner and the handloom weaver against the centralized textile industry more effectively than any amount of propaganda and legislation will ever do. It can be easily manufactured on a small scale and sold on a hire purchase basis.

Mill cloth produced for the internal market should be first curtailed and then completely eliminated. Next mill-made yarn should yield its place to handloom yarn made in villages on small spinning frames.

The idea of a village spinner making several pounds of yarn per day on his spinning frame and feeding a few village weavers with yarn need not frighten the lovers of Khadi. He is a village craftsman like the oilman or the blacksmith and has his place in the village economy. His presence will create the tradition of village self-sufficiency in cloth and the right atmosphere for the idea of individual self-sufficiency in cloth.

## MOVEMENT FOR PEACE IN INDIA

(*By Bharatan Kumarappa*)

Peace movements seem to be of recent origin to most of us. But the movement for peace and non-violence goes back to about two thousand years in India. It has engaged the serious thought and energy of generations of our best seers, prophets and sages. It is difficult therefore to try and report on the movement in India in the space of ten minutes. Gandhiji built on and developed further the ancient quest of India for peace, and I shall have to confine myself here * for the most part to a few fundamental principles in his work for peace.

The peace movement under Gandhiji's leadership in India has gone far beyond mere resistance to war and condemning deadly weapons of destruction. Repugnance to war is but a first step in the search for peace, and as I have listened to the speeches at this Conference, I have been feeling that many of us have probably still not learned the great contribution that Gandhiji has made to the cause of peace.

Gandhiji knew that to end war, merely condemning it was of no use. We must root out the causes of war. What are these ?

### 1. In the Life of the Individual

(A) *Coarsening of Human Sensibility*: From the time of the Lord Buddha, now for over 2,500 years, we in India have been taught not to cause suffering. But such teaching of itself would have been of no avail unless the people were taught habits of non-violence in daily living. So vegetarianism was instituted. This was the first practical step taken in India to apply non-violence in daily life, and to teach people not to cause suffering or death to creatures capable of feeling pain and anticipating pain. Gandhiji was of course also a vegetarian, and it is to us from India a little surprising that many of us here who believe in pacifism have not yet started on this first practical application of non-violence in matters of food. We feel that non-violence in public life is hardly possible unless we start with non-violence in our everyday life, even in food.

(B) One who would practise non-violence must, also, according to Indian thought, be possessed of great *self-control* or self-renunciation. A man who indulges with himself is one who seeks his own pleasure, and such a one invariably comes into conflict with others, while a man who can restrain himself is capable of being free from strife with others. His wants are few and simple, and he can stop pursuing them when he finds that they lead him into conflict. Anything therefore that makes a man self-indulgent is to be avoided ; for example, intoxicating liquor or unbridled sex-life made possible by the use of contraceptives.

This lesson in self-control taught in India for centuries, and repeated by Gandhiji, is still to be learned by many of us who seek to surround ourselves by a multitude of possessions and believe in increasing wants. Such unceasing craving for goods, and self-indulgence cannot but lead to conflict and violence. So Gandhiji in line with his ancestors summed up the supreme duty of one who seeks peace and non-violence, to practise Brahmacharya or severe self-restraint in every sphere of life — food, drink and sex-life.

### 2. In Political Life

One of the causes of strife and war is suppression of one group of people by another. A great contribution which Gandhiji made was to show, as all of you know, how a non-violent man can resist political oppression by non-violent means.

He also advocated a decentralized political order, where power will not be in the hands of a few. Today we speak of democracy or rule of the people, but never was so much power concentrated in the State as today. The State today controls our food, drink, houses, industries, agriculture, trade, education, travel, money, communications, — in fact almost everything that affects our daily life. The worst of such a state of affairs is that when power is concentrated in the hands of a powerful few or ruling minority, the people are driven like dumb cattle into war to cater to the rulers' greed for power. The people not being used to thinking for themselves are not able to stand up against the State. So they are easily regimented and made to fight, by the rulers.

Gandhiji, therefore, believed that the only antidote to such all powerful States of today is to establish true democracy or rule of the people,

* This paper was presented to the World Pacifist Conference that met in Japan in April this year. Shri B. Kumarappa was one of the Indian delegates there. — *Ed.*

which would be possible only in small groups like villages which manage their own affairs. On the foundations of such village republics he expected to build up the political life of the nation, centralized only for such common purposes as defence and foreign affairs.

In this teaching of his again there is much for the modern pacifist to ponder over. Only under such a political order will people really rule themselves, and only then will they be strong enough to resist being plunged in war against their will.

### 3. In Economic Life

I shall deal here only with the two important spheres of a nation's economic life — Industry and Agriculture, and point out how Gandhiji sought to organize them in such a way as to prevent strife and to promote peace and goodwill.

(A) *Industry*: There is no doubt that much of the friction between nations today is due to a search for raw materials and markets. When production is on a small scale, local raw materials and markets suffice, and there is no conflict. But when production is on a large scale, as happens under industrialization, nations scramble and fight with each other for raw materials like cotton, rubber, jute etc., fuel such as coal, petrol, minerals and strategic materials, and for markets. So there is war. War and imperialism caused thus can never be put an end to by mere resolutions.

Gandhiji's movement for the spinning wheel was symbolic of his desire to root out from the economic sphere the cause of war and imperialism, and to establish a decentralized, self-sufficient village economy which will aim at production for local needs out of locally available material rather than for distant markets. So long as pacifists overlook this very real cause of war and imperialism, and continue to submit passively to large scale manufacture, they may go on preaching against war and suppression of weaker peoples, but would in effect promote these evils. Hence Gandhiji's movement for cottage and village industries.

Not only so, industrialization means centralization of power in the hands of a few, the vast majority of the people being reduced to a state of helplessness. Gandhiji dreaded this development, as all such concentration of power could lead to enslavement, exploitation and strife. So he urged India, if it would be peaceful and non-violent, to take to decentralized small scale cottage production, where the individual learns to run his industries himself or co-operatively with his neighbours.

(B) *Agriculture*: A pacifist must see that the labourer is not enslaved by his tools being taken away from him. For that must sooner or later cause exploitation and strife. This is what happens, for example, when land is not owned by the cultivator. So after Gandhiji's death, his followers in the peace movement have been engaged in securing land back for the agriculturist from the landlord. The method they follow is not the violent way of confiscation, but the non-violent method of appealing to the landlord's reason and conscience. In this way, within three years more than 3,000,000 acres of land have been given by landlords as gifts to be distributed among the landless. It is hoped by 1957 to secure enough land thus to distribute land freely among all landless cultivators in India, and thus to effect an agrarian revolution entirely by non-violent means. When this is done, it is expected that landlord and peasant will work side by side, each contributing his talents and capacity to promote the welfare of all.

I have no time to tell you more, but you can see how the Indian peace movement under Gandhiji has gone beyond mere condemnation of war and injustice, and has sought to penetrate the life of the individual and society in order to root out all causes of friction. This is the remarkable direction which Gandhiji has given to the eternal quest of India for peace. I do hope that we who have assembled here will make it a point to study this great movement initiated by Gandhiji. For without such an all-sided attempt to remove all conflict from human relations, one feels that mere conferences condemning war are futile. International peace must be a far cry unless based on non-violence in individual, social, political and economic life. This is Gandhiji's chief contribution, and this is the message I bring to you from the work for non-violence and peace in India.

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